

*Rejected*



Yu Chung-han's Political Views --  
~~as reviewed by MORITA, Fukumatsu.~~

1. The Policy of Preserving Absolute Boundary and Security of Life.

Yu Chung-han's policy is preserving absolute boundary and security of life for the four provinces that constitute the North-eastern area of China by severing relations with the old military clique and the Nanking Regime and establishing a New independent country. Coming back to his temporary residence in the wall <sup>of the</sup> city of Mukden on the 3rd of November, he immediately called a meeting <sup>of</sup> the members of the Peace Maintenance Committee and strongly insisted that the policy of preserving absolute boundary and security of life was necessary for the purpose of governing the four north-eastern Provinces (17 characters omitted) and advised them to sever relations with the former Chang Hsuehliang's Regime and the Nanking Government. By his advice, the committee, representing all the political powers took steps to publish the provincial ordinance. However, his political opinion of preserving absolute boundary and security of life is based upon the realization of rule by justice. He says: "People are apt to take the phrase, Rule by Justice", as an out of date phrase, but I believe the essence

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of the spiritual culture of the orient is Rule by Justice and this principle will never become out of date. It will continue to hold new meanings always, and will have everlasting Value and meaning."

He often submitted his views to the authorities regarding Rule by Justice in the administration of the eastern provinces, but he was not only made light of but also kept at a distance and finally repulsed. However, days of military government has come to an end and the political revolution of the eastern provinces has taken place. This is all natural. We must be firmly determined to enforce right government.

The highest form of righteous government gives perfect peace to people; it bestows favour to all; there will be no trouble nor strife; people will be able to live with perfect ease, whereby a paradise is born.

If any one should hinder the realization of the righteous government with the fore-mentioned ideals, he must be taken as a devil and the greatest enemy to mankind. People of the world with high moral sense would be sure to support the thirty million people of Manchuria, who are exerting every effort to get rid of evil administration, in the establishment of a righteous government. In order to materialize this ideal, it is very important to sever relations with Chang-Hsuehliang's regime and the Nanking Government. The North eastern provinces are thinly populated but are fertile and abound in natural

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resources. Therefore, if all goes well with the government, within a few years' time prosperity will come and turn the county into a paradise. The people of Manchuria had suffered the worst administration under the war-lords who dictated the thirty million people with their military power the past twenty years. These war-lords, paying least attention to the improvement of industries, engaged only in perpetual strifes with one another just to occupy a few castles or a small tract of land, and simply to gain personal profits or prosperity for their families at the sacrifice of the people. To cite an example these was peace for only four or five years after Chang Tsuolin came into powers, during which time Wang Yung-chiang, an expert financier, made exertions to regulate the finance of the provinces. He succeeded in accumulating fifty million yuan, which he deposited in the government bank as surplus at an interest rate of 5% a year and with a condition that it must not be used under any condition. He thus laid a financial base for the provincial government. He also intended to abolish taxation and to appropriate the surplus fund to the development of the provincial industries, but greatly to his disappointment, the First Mukden-Pechili war broke out and Chang Tsuo-lin was defeated. Upon his return from defeat Chang Tsuo-lin concentrated for revenge and expanded his military forces lending no ear to the admonitions of his followers and advisers and at last built the huge arsenal we

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see now. The second Mukden-Pechili war commenced and it was followed by Chang Tsuo-lin-Kuo Sung liang Battle.

Wang yung-chiang and then Yu Chung-han parted with Chang Tsuo-lin. With the increased production of armament and the enlargement of arsenals, the Mukden was overissued with paper notes. The flooding of notes caused the notes to lose value until they become worthless as scrap paper. The people were driven into such a sad plight that they could not buy food nor fuel even with hand fulls of their notes. But the populace had no power to oppose against this bad rule. There was an instance where three good merchants were shot to death because they exchanged their Mukden notes and were charge of having disturbed the market. This incident has caused the people to wonder, if God's teaching is always just. The day has now come when the people of Manchuria are freed from the yoke of tyranny. People of high morality in this world, in view of humanity and East Asia peace; will not hesitate to render their heartfelt assistance to the thirty million people of Manchuria who are striving to establish a good government by their free will. And there is no other method to realize this policy, than to secure absolute independence and security of life for the people. The above is the gist of Yu chang-han's political views.

2. Winning the Hearts of the People and Cultivation of National Resources.

Yu Chung-han says:

The cardinal point of statecraft is to win the hearts of the people and to win the hearts of people it is necessary to let them know what the government is going <sup>to</sup> do. Therefore, it is of primary importance to issue, at the beginning of the organization of this new regime, a grand proclamation regarding its principles of administration and let the people know what the new regime intends to do. The principles of administration of the new government will be roughly summed as follows: The abolishment of the old regime under the military clique and establishment of a good government based upon the people's will; reformation of maladministration by such as abolishment of bad taxation which lessens the people's burden, and regulation of tax system which equalises the people's liability; appropriation for industrial development of the money, so far used for military expenditure and consequently for mutual killing among the people, promotion of the welfare of the people; improvement and diffusion of religious education for the cultivation among the people of morality which has long been neglected; adoption of strong measures to maintain peace and order and insure the perfect protection of life and property; and lastly strict prohibition of official's bribery, the most vicious of our administrative evils.

If these principle be vindicated and fair government realized, all the people of Manchuria will surely admire and follow the new regime. If Government and people discharge their several duties, through mutual trust, it will not be difficult for the new regime to attain its object. If, for the development of people's life, industries are encouraged, taxes alleviated, life and property secured, and the currency system radically reformed, and if these measures are carried out with morality as the guiding spirit, then will there be opened a broad avenue extending to a hopeful future.

If the officials, who are to participate in the new regime, faithfully follow the above principles and closely cooperate in the discharge of their duties, our ideals will surely be attained.

### 3. Revision of Salary Schedule Ordinance and Establishment of Special Allowance Regulations.

A man must have necessities of life before he can maintain propriety men are born good. They will never steal food when their stomachs are full. Men all value their honour. If a man is provided with sufficient amount of necessities of life, he seldom commits a crime. There are such dishonourable words as "corrupted officials" and "contaminated government clerks."

Yes, there are surely bad officials, but bad system is partly to blame, for producing such officials. For instance, a prefectural policeman's salary is eight yuan a month in

current Chinese money i, e, no more than four yen in Japanese gold--not enough even to buy his tobacco, and altogether too small to provide for himself, not to say for his family. How can we expect him to perform his duties properly. A salary of this proportion authorizes him in a way, to resort to illegal conduct. The salaries of prefectural governors and department heads are equally small, and to make matters worse, their salaries are discounted by thirty or fifty per cent every month, for the purpose of wringing out the military expenses. Hanyo and Liayo are first grade prefectures but the salaries of their governors are only three hundred and sixty yuen per month in current Chinese money, that is, not more than 170-180 yen in Japanese gold. On such a small salary as this and living as he does in his cosy, expensive prefectural capital, he cannot comfortably live a sociable and dignified life proper to his official position. In such circumstances he is, despite himself, drawn toward accepting bribes. Therefore, the bad system has much to do with the appearance of bad officials. Ideal rule cannot be expected so long as a governor whose salary is no more than 300 yuen per month can accumulate 30 or 40 thousand yuen a year. First give enough salary to officials so as to allow them a proper living and then strictly punish their corrupted deeds. If his salary can support himself and his family and leaves him some surplus, he will never willingly go astray. At the beginning of the new regime, we must not only revise the salary schedule regulations and give the officials a

sufficient economic background but also, establish regulations for retiring allowances and special provisions for those who fall victim to their officials duties so that our officials may attend to their duties without economic anxieties. It is far better for a country to provide its officials with high salaries and thereby prevent them becoming corrupted. Though it is extremely difficult to irradiate this vicious custom of long tradition the new regime must do it by the enforcement of proper laws. If not, the new regime will fall back to the old evils and its ideal for the "rule of justice" will be disgraced. In order to prevent officials' corruption, we intend to establish a board of audit on the plan described below.

4. Establishment of a Board of Audit.

Establishment of a board of audit is the very first and most essential task that the new government must perform, if it wishes to maintain the morale of its officials and reform its financial system. Beginning with the Mukden Arsenal, a hot bed of corruption for the official circle of that city, the financial management of every provincial as well as prefectural and municipal government has been thoroughly and unbearably corrupted.



The sum squandered illegally in the financial section of any of the provincial governments has been tens of millions of yuan. The incomes of each province will be multiplied if its incomes and expenditures are made clear, so that not a single unlawful disbursement is to be permitted. To establish a board of audit which adheres to absolute fairness is the first step toward just government.

5. Radical Reforms in Police System.

Reforms and perfection of police system is the most essential requirement for the consolidation of the new government. Police officials are always in close contact with the people because their duties are to maintain security of life and property and keep peace and <sup>order</sup> for the people. It is also their duty to report to the ruling authorities the general affairs of the people and to let the people know the government's will. Therefore it is important to pick up good men for police officials. Ex-policemen, ex-soldiers and such townfolks as have been contaminated by evil customs of the city must be excluded, for they can not be easily cured of their evil habits. It is very difficult to distinguish a bandit from a policeman or a soldier; for these three have come of a single stock of desperate men whose existence has been the cancer to the welfare of the people. If, by mistake, these should be employed for its police work, the New Regime will have little hope of success, however perfectly its political system may be

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established. The Righteous Government which we are so firmly insisting upon must be founded on a good police system, so that it is of vital necessity to choose truly equate men for the office. When we employ policemen in the new government we must follow the example of Tseng Kuo-fan. His success in annihilating the Taiping Rebellion lay chiefly in his able organization of the volunteer service system and wise choice of soldiers for the service. He never allowed ex-soldiers to be enlisted again in the volunteer corps, which he organized exclusively with peasant youths. These young men were so simple and honest that they perfectly obeyed Tseng's orders and acted under his complete control. It was by the efforts of these young men that Tseng finally subdued the rebellious army which had already captured more than 650 prefectures. For the police organization of the new government, we intend to invite simple and honest peasant youths and train them to be good policemen. They shall be paid a monthly salary of 40 yuan for the minimum at the start and this sum shall be gradually increased to 50 and 60 yuan. They shall be not only promoted to police-sergents, inspectors and superintendents but the ablest of them shall be appointed even prefectural governors. Moreover they shall be assured of getting retiring allowances against old age. By such measures as these it will not be difficult to get them freed from the bad old customs,

and thus lay a foundation for a truly popular police system. The police shall be divided into peace and administrative police. Ten thousand policemen will be enough to the whole province of Liao-ning. The peace police shall be sufficiently armed with machine-guns, rifles, motorcars and horses and be so organized as to allow it speedy movement in any direction required. It shall be divided into several units, each consisting of about five hundred. Six police stations, each composed of one of such units, will be sufficient for Liao-ning Province. The administrative police shall also be armed, but it shall be used chiefly as auxiliary to the lower administrative organs. Consequently the training for the administrative police shall be somewhat different. Side by side with the police reforms, the establishment of census law is very urgent. The imperfection of our census system has afforded shelter to undesirable social elements. If census taking is carried out to every nook and corner, it will be easy to search for criminals. The New Regime must have its local authorities faithfully attend to census-taking so that civil registry may be promptly and thoroughly enforced. This is doubtless no easy task but it must be carried out at any cost. The question of the establishment of the training institutions for policemen shall be well studied shortly and the best plan for it be worked out.

6. Anti-Armament Principle of the New Government.

Yu Chung-han's strong emphasis against militarism is one of his most far-sighted and most reasonable principles. A Monroe Doctrine firmly insisted upon for Manchuria and the Righteous Rule held up as the sacred ideal of the new government do not need an army he says. He has come to this conviction through his adherence to the high philosophical truth that non-aggression never creates enemy. He fears that the land of peace that his new government intends to build up may again be turned into a land of militarism if it should depend on an armed background. Disarmament is absolutely necessary for a genuine and sound Rule of Justice. It is not easy for the New Regime to have a defence army for guarding the independence of Manchuria because it is beyond its power to keep an army effective enough successfully to defend a country situated between two strong powers, Russia and Japan. Chang-Hsueh-liang's army which had boasted of being the strongest of all Chinese armies was defeated at Manchuli and Hairai the year before last at the time of the Russo-Chinese trouble. This reputedly strongest Chinese army was no match even to the Russians. It is far more difficult to organize a defence army against the big and powerful army of Japan. The New Regime could not compete with Japan even if it were to enlist the entire 30,000,000 population of the North-eastern Provinces.

However big a standing army Manchuria might maintain Japan could easily invade Manchuria and Mongolia if she has a will to do so. Consequently a national defence army would be completely useless for Manchuria. For the suppression of bandits police troops would be enough. This thoroughgoing reasoning is the cause of Yu Chung-han's adherence to his non-armament principle.

In short, Yu Chung-han's political ideal is--  
To unite the four North-eastern provinces into one independent state founded on a Monroe Doctrine, to be published and vindicated to the world; to build an ideal peace country through economic cooperation with Japan while holding up an equal opportunity principle for all the nations of the world. We have a good example, he says, of a non-armed state in Europe, namely Switzerland. It is not impossible for us to build such another state. If China should attack us from the south over the Great Walls, Japan will have to encounter her force for the purpose of maintaining peace in Manchuria. If Russia should invade our land, Japan will also be obliged to take up arms against the invader. This is not meant to be an offensive and defensive alliance with Japan, but in any case our new government can certainly get along far better without maintaining a single soldier. What it aspires to do is to build a peaceful land of blessed peace and happiness based upon the

ideal of Righteous Rule, and devoted exclusively to economic and cultural phases of statecraft. Under Japanese cooperation we will strive for the realization of this significant work, and under mutual respect and for the sake of co-prosperity of the two countries, we look forward to the efflorescence of our peaceful ideal. It is the sole object of our aspiration to build a country where there is no strife, nor discrimination all being equally entitled for a happy cooperative life. In order to build such a country, we, the north-eastern people, should exert ourselves to the utmost, but at the same time we look forward to sympathy and hearty support from Japan. By cooperation with Japan, we must create a truly peaceful country and see to its development and prosperity. We wish that such an unhappy incident as has recently taken place, will never occur again. At the beginning of this undertaking we sincerely hope that Japan and Manchuria will make an auspicious start through mutual respect and amicable cooperation since mutual regards entirely decide the course of this undertaking. A Japanese proverb says, "A companion is needed in travelling, and love in life". If the two countries work together in the above spirit they will surely be able to build an ideal country of peace.

7. Traffic Administration and Industrial Policy.

Prior to the construction of railway nets, it is important

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to study the management of and build good roads for motor-car traffic. Efficient traffic administration has much to do with the improvement of industry on one hand, and on the other protects the land from the rampancy of bandits, for bandits are by products of bad traffic. Furthermore, the construction of roads will give work to the unemployed. It is, as it were killing two birds with one stone. Wang yung-chiang, when he was a provincial governor classed all the roads in his province into prefectural and village roads and started construction of fine roads with a fund of more than 20 million yuan. It brought about good results. But soon a military-expenditure-is-everything policy brushed aside this welfare work.

The New Regime must therefore promptly make plans for road construction with sufficient appropriation of funds.

Industrial questions being of a complicated nature there is no adequate plan in my mind yet for proper industrial administration. What we have to do is, in my opinion, to base our plan upon the studies and investigations of specialists and enforce it in close coordination with the financial administration of the country.

The industrial development of the North-eastern Provinces seems to offer a vast future possibility since every one of them stores rich resources both on and under the ground, which

under proper industrial measures, would be amply exploited. If industries flourish and abundant commodities appear on market, there will no longer be such as the "parallel railway dispute" to trouble us. If our railways come to be devoted to industrial and economic purposes, they will surely prove to be profitable undertakings. For instance, the Shen-hai Line has begun to show a good sign in this direction. It is absolutely foolish for any railway to try even at heavy financial losses to compete with the great Manchurian Railway. Such absurd ideas as these have accumulated until they have exploded in the recent unhappy incident. Pacifism is the key to success in everything. Traffic administration has close and inseparable relations to industrial administration, so that the new Regime must know how to control well the interrelation between these two phases of government.

#### 8. Miscellaneous Questions.

##### (a) Sino-Japanese Joint Enterprises.

The joint enterprises must change their form. It is foolish to have two presidents in a single concern and to have its important posts filled with their relatives, friends, and followers, many of whom are worthless persons. With such a composition of personnel, the running expenses naturally prove ruinous to the enterprise. If they follow the rule of "the right man in the right place," it does not matter what national



a Chinese or a Japanese becomes president, a commercial concern must gain profits. It is ridiculous to establish a joint concern, only to lose money in it. We must stop useless formalism.

(b) Pending Problems.

To leave a problem unsettled already shows a sign of discord. If there have been hundreds of pending problems it has been quite natural for an unhappy event, such as has recently occurred, to take place. The New Regime intends promptly to solve these unsettled problems.

There may be some business concerns of Japanese investment under Chinese names that have been confiscated or forbidden to carry on their business. They are advised to tender their evidential documents that may be kept at the consulate-general and such other places. Their circumstances will be carefully investigated into and an adequate settlement given each of them. We will remove all pending questions and make a fresh start with a completely renewed vigor and goodwill.

(c) Local Self-Government.

Local self-government is to be realized in accordance with the traditions, customs and manners of each locality. It is difficult to reach a high ideal at a bound. Evil customs of long tradition do not die so soon. For instance, it is impossible

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to suppress opium smoking at once. In order to get rid of the bad habit an opium monopoly system, must be established controlling regulations enforced, and hospitals built for giving proper treatments to opium addicts. Only after the completion of these prohibitive measures can this evil habit be removed. Gambling must of course be forbidden, but it is rather advisable to overlook it if enjoyed at home during the first three days or so of January.

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CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE

I hereby certify that the book hereto attached, written in Chinese and Japanese by FUJIYAMA, Kazuo, consisting of 65 pages and entitled "Memoirs on late President YÜ Chung-han of the Department of Inspection; Published by the Bureau of General Affairs, Department of Inspection" is a book which was bought in 1934 at HSINKING, and which has been thenceforth in my custody.

certified at Tokyo,

on this 13th day of February, 1947

KANAUCHI, Ryosuke  
(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on the same date

Witness: OKAMOTO, Toshio.  
(seal)

## 第二 干冲漢氏の政見

## 一、絶對保境安民主義

干冲漢氏の意見は東北四省の絶對保境安民主義であつて舊軍閥政體及び南京政權との關係を斷絶し、新獨立國家を建設することが、絶對要件であると言ふのである、即ち氏は十一月三日、奉天城内の假寓に入るや、直に維持委員會委員諸氏と會し、今後東北四省の統治方針に付ては、絶對保境安民主義を提唱し（十七字省略）舊學良政權及び南京政府との關係斷絶を宣佈せしむるに決し、維持委員會が一切の政權を代行して省令を下すに至らしめたのである。

而して氏の絶對保境安民主義の政見には、氏の抱懷せる王道主義の實現が其根幹を成して居るのである。氏の言葉を借りて云へば「世人動もすれば王道主義なる言葉を舊い言葉の様に思つて居るが、東洋精神文化の眞髓は、王道主義であつて、何時迄經つても決して古びない。千歳萬年長へに常に新しき意味を持つて繼續さるべき價值と内容とを持つて居る」と言ふのである、從來東省の政治に於ても、屢々之が實

現に付意見を吐露せる、常に顧みられざるのみならず、却つて諫んぜられ、斥けらるゝに至れり、然るに會々霸道政治の悪魔滅びて、眞に東省政治革命の時期が到來したのである、是は天也命也人爲ならずである、宜しく一大英斷を以て王道政治の端を開かさるべからず。

抑王道政治の極致は、寧壞鼓膜の太平を生み、四海同胞均しく其恩恵を享け、其處に波瀾もなく、其處に鬭争もなく、人々其堵に安んじて、理想の樂土が生るゝのである。如上の理想に基く王道政治の實現に向つて、之を妨ぐるものあらば、之は悪魔であり、人道上の大敵である、道義に明るき世界の人士は吾等三千萬民衆が悪虐無道の桎梏を免れて、新に生れんとする王道政治の實現に向つて、贊意をこそ表すれ、よも之に反對するものはあるまい、然かも此理想の實現に向つては徹頭徹尾舊學良政權及南京政府との關係を斷絶する事が絶対必要であると謂ふのである。而して東北各省は人烟未だ密ならず、土地肥沃にして、天然の恩澤に富み地下の埋寶亦甚だ豊かにして、統治其宜しきを得ば、數年ならずして非常なる富を來たし、理想の樂土たるは必

然である、然るを過去二十年來軍備萬能の私者に由り、一城一地を争ふ事にもみ汲々として、産業を顧みず一人一家の榮華の爲に三千萬民衆は苛斂誅求の桎梏を受け、塗炭の苦海に沈淪して居たのである、今其例證を擧ぐれば張作霖氏の執權後四、五年間は先づ無事であつたが故に、財政通の王永江氏の手腕に由りて、極力財政整理を行つた結果五千萬元と云ふ巨額の剩餘金を如何なる條件の下にも之には手を付け得ぬ方法を取りて、官銀號に預入れ、年五歩の利息を取つて省財政の基礎を固め、行々は悪税廢止、産業開發の資金に充當せんとして、大に努力せるにも係はらず、第一奉直戰となり、破れて歸るや張作霖氏は一意惠心復讐戰の用意に熱中し、周圍の勸告には耳をも借さず、只管軍備の擴張のみに専念して他を顧みず、遂に今日見る様な途轍もない老大なる兵工廠を築き上げ、第二奉直戰となり、奉郭戰となり、王永江氏去り余も亦去りて、愈々益々軍備の擴張又擴張に伴ふ兵工廠の擴張整備に奉天票の濫發となり、濫發の程度に伴うて奉天票の市價は加速度的に暴落し、紙屑同様に下落し、爲に三千萬民衆は紙幣を抱い

て薪米の資に窮するの憂目を見たのである、然も民衆は暴政に抗すべき何等の力をも持たぬので、如何ともする能はず時としては奉票交換の爲に市況擾亂の罪に問はれて順良なる商人が三人も同時に銃殺せられた事さへある、誠に天道是か非かの思ひを抱かしめたものである、斯うした桎梏から免るゝ機會は今將に臻れりである、民衆の總意に由りて、此處に王道政治を建設することに付ては、人道上的見地からするも亦東洋平和の見地からするも、道義ある世界人士は我等三千萬民衆の爲に當然援助を吝まぬであらう。而して之が實現を期する第一要提は網對保境安民に由りてのみ期待せらるゝものと言ふのが氏の意見の全體である。

## 二、民心の收攬と民力の培養

政治の要諦は、民心を收攬するに在り、民心を收攬するは民をして歸嚮する所を知らしむるに在り、其處で此新政權確立の始めに於て宜しく將來に於ける政治の大方針に付一大佈告を出して、人民に嚮ふ所を示す事が第一要件である。即ち從來の軍閥政治を打破して、新に民意

を基調とする善政主義を高唱し、弊政改革の大旗幟を鮮明にし悪税を廢止し、人民の負擔を輕減し又税制の整理を行ひ負擔の均衡を保つに努め、同胞相鬪くの爲に投ぜられたる軍費を産業の開發に投じ、國利民福の基を開き又宗教教育の刷新普及を圖りて廢れたる道義の觀念を養成するに努め特に絶對的治安維持の方策を確立して、生命財産の保護に遺憾なからしめ悪弊中の悪弊たる貪官汚吏の收賄を嚴然防止し、明るき政治を以て臨み其方法を明示せば三千萬民衆は靡然として謳歌し來ることは瞭かなる事實で、此信頼の下に上下相信して事に當らば新政權の理想は其實現必ずしも難事をらずと思ふ、若し夫れ民力培養の方法に付ては大に産業を興し其負擔を輕減し、生命財産の安固を保障し、貨幣制度の大改革を行ひ、之に處するに道を以てすれば何の難事か之あらん、新政權に參與する人々が此心を體し協心戮力事に當らば必ずや吾人の理想を實現し得るものと信ずる云々。

### 三、俸給令の改正と慰勞金規定

人は皆衣食足りて始めて禮節を知る、人の性は善なりである、如何な



る人でも胃の腑が充たされて居れば盗んで喰ふ者はない、人間は總て名譽を欲するものである。衣食足れば減多に悪い事をするものではない。貪官汚吏など言ふ言葉があるが、そう言ふ徒輩もあるにはあるが、斯くの如き徒輩を作り出すのは一つには制度其ものゝ罪もある、今各縣の巡警の給料月現大洋八元である、金の四圓足らずである之では煙草代にも足らぬではないか、之で喰つて働け妻子も養へと言つて見ても出来る相談ではない。寧ろ言ふ方が無理で悪い事をして差支ないと云う官許を與へた様なものだ、又課長級や知事にしても矢張り同様甚だ薄給に過ぎる薄給の上に規定の月給から軍費不足の故を以て三割も五割も減額されては立つて行けるものではない、瀋陽縣、遼陽縣と言へば一等縣である。然るに縣長たる知事の月給が現大洋三百六十元で日本金の百七、八十圓に過ぎぬ。往復繁華を都市では充分な交際も出来ぬ。知事たる體面を保つて餘裕の出来様筈がない、不義ならざらんとするも得可からずで遂には不正の收得をなすに至るもので、制度の罪が多分である、月三百元の知事が年額三、四萬元もの貯蓄が

出来る様では善政は何時迄経つても布けるものではない。充分の俸給を與へて、信賞必罰主義を執らねばならぬ人各々與へられたる俸給に由りて衣食を給し、尙且多少の餘裕を有するに至れば、好んで邪道に踏入るものではない新政權確立の初めに當り、俸給令の大改正を行ひ充分の給與を與ふるに止まらず、退職慰勞金殉職手當金規定を設けて人々をして其職に安んじて、職責を勤めせしむる様にせねばならぬ、不正の漏洩を防止することに依り何層倍かの俸給を與ふるとは、却つて國家の爲に非常な利益である、併し隨分深刻に浸み込んで居る惡風を除去することは難事は難事だが新政權は道法を設けて之が刷新を圖らねば又もや舊弊續出して遂には王道主義が暴露しになるであらう次に述ぶる會計検査院（審計院）制を設けて之が防止を嚴にする考へである。

#### 四、審計院制度の創設

審計院制度の創設は、官紀の嚴肅を保持し財政制度の刷新上是非共第一に着手しなければならぬ。新政權の重要政務である、奉天官界の伏

魔殿たる兵工廠を始め各省各縣各市の財政に至るまで、悪弊深く浸染して醜態目を覆ふの有様である、而して省全般の財政中不正の手段に由りて消え去るもの恐らくは何千萬元を以て算するの巨額に上る可く收支を詳かにし毫厘も寛容することなく收支を明細にすれば、各省の収入は倍加することを得ん、嚴密公正なる審計院制定の創設は明るき政治に進む第一歩である。

##### 五、警察制度の大改革

新政體の建設に當り、最も重く意を用ひねばならぬ事は警察制度の完成刷新である、常に人民に接觸し生命財産の安固を保持し、治安の安寧を圖り上申下達の道を擔任するのは警察官吏であるから、何よりも先其素質を精選任命することが第一條件であらねばならぬ。夫には從來巡警たりし者兵隊たりし者都會の悪風に染んだ徒輩は全然採用してはならぬ是等の徒輩は、從來の悪習が深く浸染して遽かに矯正する事は不可能である。入りては巡警となり出でては匪賊となり、再轉しては兵隊となると言ふ風で、此三つは劃然たる區別は無く此間を循環し

て常に悪事を働き、民衆を毒した者共である是等の徒輩を採用しては如何程制度を完備しても其實績を擧ぐる事は望むべくもあらぬのである、況んや吾々の唱ふる王道政治の根幹をなすものは、警察制度に其多分を求めねばならぬのであるから、素質を精選して採用する事が特に必要なる所以である、随つて今度巡警の採用に付ては會國藩の故知に倣ふ考である。會國藩が長髮賊の大亂を平定するに至つた重なる要因は、保甲制度の完成と之に採用せる兵卒の素質を精選した事に在る即ち彼は從來兵籍に居た事あるものは一切保甲制度に参加せしめず、田舎の淳樸朴直なる百姓のみを招募して保甲兵團を編成したので、誠に純朴であり且能く命令が徹底したのである、而して會氏の意の儘に動き、既に六百五十餘縣も占領せられて居たのを恢復し得たる所以の者一に之の淳樸なる百姓兵團の御蔭である、新政權の警察組織に當りても、田舎の淳樸なる壯丁から招募し、練習所に入れてミツシリ仕込んでやる積りである、而して其俸給の如きも初任給月額四十元以上として漸次五十元六十元と言ふ風に昇給せしむる計りでなく、部長警部

警視と云ふ風に昇進の道を開き、又本人の技倆如何に由りては知事にもなれると言ふ位に進むべき道が開いて居り、退職手當と言ふ老後の事迄考へて遣れば從來の悪風も矯正せられ眞の民衆警察の基礎を作る事亦必ずしも困難ではない。而して保安警察と行政警察とを区分し其總数は遼寧全省に一萬人もあれば充分だと思ふ、而して保安警察には機關銃も鐵砲も又自動車も馬も充分に備附けて迅速機敏に各方面に出動し得る様な組織に編成し、一隊約五百名位の編成にして遼寧全省に六箇所にも配置して置けば事足りると考へて居る。其他の行政警察にしても武装は整はせて置くが、之は専ら下級行政機關の補助たらしむる様にしたいので訓練法に於ても聊か教育方針を異にし度いと思ふのである。又警察制度の改正と共に戸籍法の制定が急務である、戸籍制度の不完備が不良の徒の隠れ場を與ふるものである。律々浦々まで戸籍法が能く行届いて居れば犯人捜査も容易である、新政權は市町村に命じて戸籍調査を嚴密にし、至急之が實施完整を企圖せねばならぬ。之は困難な事業ではあるがどうしても實行せねばならぬ事だと思つて居

る。

若し夫れ警察官養成機關の設置に付ては、後日充分に講究し最善の方法を立てたい考へてある。

#### 六、新政權の不養兵主義

干冲漢氏の新政權に對する政見中最も卓見にして然も條理ある大方針の一は此の不養兵主義の高調である、嚴格なる東三省「モンロー」主義、神聖なる王道政治の前には軍隊など必要としないと言ふ趣旨である、吾侵さざれば人亦我を侵さずと言ふ、崇高なる哲理から生れた斷案である、折角生れ出づ可き平和郷も生仲軍隊を置く事に由りて又々舊態に戻り軍權政治を呼戻さぬとも限らぬ、固き信念の下に立つ王道政治には不養兵主義が絶體必要と言ふのである且又東北新政權が獨立國としての國防軍を置く事は容易な事ではない、何故なれば日露兩強國の間に立つて眞の國防軍を編成する事は東北夫れ自身の力量が及ばず張學良が中國第一の精銳を誇りて居た軍隊が一昨年の際支紛争の際に滿洲里及海拉爾に於ける慘敗の跡から考へても分る事だが、露西亞

に對して既に然り然るを世界に誇る日本の大陸軍を目標にして、國防軍を編成し様と云ふ事になれば、東北三千萬民衆を驅りて悉く軍兵とするも尙且及ばざるの處あり、よし又如何なる國防軍を常置するも日本にして眞に滿蒙侵略の意思ありとすれば朝餉前の仕事に過ぎぬので結局無用の長物たるを免れぬのである國內に於ける匪賊の彈壓には保安警察隊にて充分である之余が不養兵主義を高調する所以であると誠に徹底した意見である。

要之東北四省を世界的に公約せる「モンロー主義」國家たらしめ、日本との經濟的提携を圖り、外列國に對しても機會均等主義を唱導して模範的平和郷を作り出すに在り不養兵主義は歐洲に於ても瑞西に於て其例あり、必ずしも實現不可能の事ではない、若し夫れ關内から我境を侵す者あらば日本は治安維持上當然立つて之に當らねばならぬし露西亞の侵略にしても、亦必然日本が當らねばならぬ事だと思ふので、敢て攻守同盟と言ふ次第でもないが一兵をも養はずして、遣つて行けると確信して居る我々の新政體は其の王道政治に則り、經濟政策文化

政策を唯一の「モットー」とし此地に世界に冠絶せる極樂常土を建設するのが目的である、而して日本と提携して平和的事業の完成を圖り互に相尊重して共に其福利を増進するに努め、平和の花を咲かせたいものである、其處に争ひもなければ差別もなく一切平等無差別にして相俱に樂むの境地を作り出せば能いのである、此新國家の建設に當りては、吾々東北人士は勿論眞剣に努力せねばならぬが、又日本側としても心からなる同情と援助とを切望する次第である、換言すれば共同工作に由りて眞の平和郷を建設し、之が發育達成を擁護せねばならぬと思つて居る、而して今回の如き不祥事件が二度と再び起らぬ様に遣りて行きたいものである、兩方の心の持ち方一つで何うにもなるのであるから此建設の初に當り、互に互讓妥協の精神を以つて相臨み氣持能く「スタート」を切りたいものである、日本の諺に「旅は道連れ世は情し」と云ふ事があるが、此氣持ちで行つたなら何等の立隔てもなく平和郷の建設を完成し得るものと思つて居る云々

#### 七、道路行政と産業政策



鐵道網の完成に先立ち大に道路行政を考究して自動車道路の完成を圖らねばならぬ、道路行政の完備は直に産業發達を助長するものであり又匪賊の跳梁跋扈するのは交通不便が生む産物の一つであるから、交通路が完成すれば匪賊は自ら影を潜めて來るものである、又一面道路建設工事によりて失業者救済ともなる譯だから、一舉兩得だと思つて居る、嘗て王永江氏が省長たりし時縣道里道に區分して、大に道路行政に着手し二千萬元以上もかけて大に見るべきものあつたが其後軍費萬能主義が崇りて、之等の民福事業は全く棄て、顧みるものなきに至つたのである。

新政體は宜しく財政を按配した道路行政も至急立案せねばならぬ事と思つて居る。

若し夫れ産業政策の一事は問題が大問題であるだけに今遽に適當なる考案もない譯だが、夫々専門家の研究立案により財政關係と相俟つて進めて行けば能いと思つて居る、東北各省は地上地下共に開拓の餘地は充分にあると思つて居るから産業政策其宜しきを得ば、將來の發達

は期して待つ可きである、各地の産業が発達して、物資の出廻りが多くなれば、併行線問題も何もあつたものでけたい、鐵道も産業鐵道となり經濟鐵道となれば必ず利益を擧げ得るものと信じて居る、濠海線の如き既に其萌芽が現はれて居るではないか、損をしてまで大滿鐵と競争するなど馬鹿氣切つた遣り方だ、斯ふ云ふ考へが遂に嵩みて、今回の不祥事を生むに至つた事など考へて見ると、一切萬事總て平和主義で行かなければ嘘だ、兎も角も道路行政と産業政策とは密接不離の關係があるから、新政權は緩急を圖つて之が實現を期せねばならぬ。

#### 八、無題錄

(イ) 合辦事業も形式を換へねば到底駄目だ、總辦が二人宛もあり、家の子徒黨親者縁類役に立たぬものまで引連れて繰込んで、經費倒れになるのは當り前だ、適才適處主義で行けば日支人何れが社長にたらずと總辦にならうとかまふ事はない、營利會社は利益を擧げる様にしなければ嘘だ、損迄して合辦事業は可笑しいではないか、くだらぬ形式は今後斷然止めたが能いと思つて居る。

## (ロ) 懸案問題

懸案を作ると言ふ事が抑感情疎隔の結果である三百も四百も懸案があつては、不祥事件が起るのも當然の事だ、新政權は直ちに從來の懸案を片つ端から片付けてやる心算だ、特に日本人が投資し支那人名義なるが故に没收處分に會つたり、仕事が出来なかつたりして居るものなどは、總領事館あたりに證據書類が保存してあるだらうから持出されたら能いだらう、十分に審理の上適當の方法を立て、此際解決する事にしよう懸案をど一掃して萬事立直しを遣り共に清新をすがすがしい心持ちで進むて行きたいものだ。

## (ハ) 地方自治制問題

自治制と言ふものは其地方地方の歴史、習慣、人情、風俗を參酌して進んで行くべきものであつて、一足飛びに高遠なる理想を實現することは困難であらう、舊來の陋習を打破するにしても、例之、阿片癮者の如き遽かに今日から禁止と言ふ譯には往かぬ、夫れには先づ阿片專賣制を布いて、取締法を設け一面には救療院を置いて禁煙

療法を行ふ等總べての機關を具備してから漸次悪習を打破する事に  
しをければならぬ、賭博の如き斷然禁止すべきものであるが、正月  
三日間位家庭で楽しみに遣る位は見逃して置く位にせねばなるまい。